

Message Text

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PAGE 01 KAMPAL 02283 01 OF 02 131525Z

44

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 OMB-01 SY-10 OPR-02 PC-15

AID-20 IGA-02 SCS-03 SCA-01 CU-04 IO-13 RSR-01 /169 W

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O R 131050Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2858

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KAMPALA 2283

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EAID OCON CASC ETRN US UG

SUBJECT: USG-GOU RELATIONS; AMIN SAYS HE IS NO LONGER AGAINST
US

REFS: (A) KAMPALA 2268; (B) STATE 136157; (C) STATE 137137

SUMMARY: AT RECEPTION HE GAVE JULY 12 AT SATE HOUSE, ENTEBBE,
IN HONOR OF CHIEFS OF MISSION, PRESIDENT AMIN GAVE TALK WHICH
IMPRESSED MANY LISTERNERS AS A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING AND ASSISTANCE,
ALL DELIVERED IN CONSIDERABLY CHASTENED TONE. FINAL SENTENCE OF
HIS TALK WAS: "AS FROM TODAY, I AM NO LONGER AGAINST ANY COUNTRY,
INCLUDING BRITAIN AND AMERICA." THIS EVOKED LOUD APPLAUSE FROM
ALL PRESENT, EXPECIALLY THE UGANDANS. I LATER TOLD HIM I HOPED
HIS REMARKS MEANT THAT WE COULD OPEN A NEW PAGE IN OUR RELATIONS.
THIS CHANGE IN TACTICS BY THE GENERAL, AND I AM NOT CONVINCED
THAT THERE HAS BEEN ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN HIS OUTLOOK, PROMPTS A
REAPPRAISAL OF SOME EARLIER RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING OUR OWN
TACTICS, AS SET FORTH AT END THIS MESSAGE. END SUMMARY.

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1. THINGS NEVER HAPPEN IN THE RIGHT SEQUENCE IN THIS COUNTRY. THAT IS WHY WE GO THROUGH SO MANY UPS AND DOWNS. TO USE A FANCY WORD, WE HERE PERPETUALLY LIVE IN A STATE OS WHAT ARISTOTLE IN THE POETICS CALLED PERIPETEIA.

2. GENERAL AMIN INVITED ALL CHIEFS OF MISSION (WIVES NOT INCLUDED) TO A RECEPTION IN THEIR HONOR AT STATE HOUSE ENTEBBE AT 5 P.M., JULY 12. I RECEIVED INVITATION BY PHONE PREVIOUS EVENING WHILE ENTERTAINING THIRTY AT DINNER FOR DEPARTING DIPLOMATS AND DEPARTING AMERICAN STAFF. DIPLOMATS ARRIVED AT ENTEBBE IN SOME MYSTIFICATION AS TO PURPOSE THIS AFFAIR. SOMEKIDDED ME ABOUT STILL BEING HERE, CLAIMING THEY THOUGHT I WOULD HAVE BEEN P.N.G.'D BY THE GENERAL BY THIS TIME. ONE WAS SO UNKIND AS TO SAY: "I THOUGHT WE WERE BEING CONVOKED HERE TO WITNESS YOUR PUBLIC EXECUTION." I DIDN'T LAUGH.

3. I SPENT HALF HOUR PRIOR GENERAL'S ARRIVAL CHATTING WITH COLLEAGUES.

HAVE NOT HESITATED TO GIVE ALL INTERESTED COLLEAGUES WHO INQUIRE A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE PCV DETENTION INCIDENT, AS WELL AS AN ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF THE JULY 10 SESSION WITH GENERAL AMIN. BELIEVE IT USEFUL TO GET THESE STORIES AROUND IN OUR VERSIONS. THUS FAR HAVE BRIEFED COM'S, DCM'S OR CONSULS OF: BRITAIN, DENMARK, FRANCE, GREECE, INDIA, ITALY, NETHERLANDS, NIGERIA, POLAND, SAUDI ARABIA, SOUTH KOREA, SUDAN, USSR AND ZAIRE.

4. AMIN EVENTUALLY ARRIVED, WENT DOWN LINE GREETING DIPLOMATS, AND THEN GATHERED EVERYONE IN CIRCLE ON LAWN TO LISTEN TO HIS TALK. ALSO PRESENT WERE MEMBERS STATE SUPREME COUNCIL, OTHER SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS, ACTING MINISTERS, UGANDAN AMBASSADORS HERE ON CONSULTATIONS AND FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS. AMIN BEGAN BY READING FROM PAPER A STATEMENT OF FIVE PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDE UGANDA'S FOREIGN POLICY: RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF OTHER COUNTRIES; NON-AGGRESSION; NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES; EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT IN DEALING WITH OTHERS; PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE. HE THEN STATED THAT HE LOVED ALL COUNTRIES IN WORLD AND WISHED TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES. HE SAID FACT HE PERMITTED AN EMBASSY TO BE PRESENT HERE MEANT HE WANTED GOOD RELATIONS WITH THAT

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COUNTRY. IF HE DID NOT WANT GOOD RELATIONS HE WOULD CLOSE THAT EMBASSY. SO FACT CHIEFS OF MISSION WERS PRESENT MEANT THAT HE WANTED GOOD RELATIONS WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES.

5. GENREAL WENT ON, IN HIS USUAL RAMBLING, DISJOINTED STYLE, TO TALK ABOUT HIS HOPES FOR UGANDA, AND GAVE DETAILS OF HOW HE IS REORGANIZING COUNTRY. HE SPOKE OF ELECTION OF 10,000 CHIEFS WHO WILL BE KEY TO GOVERNANCE OF COUNTRY. IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE IS

ADAPTING MILITARY MODELS, FOR EACH OF FOUR LEVELS OF CHIEFS REPORTS TO LEVEL ABOVE, AS IN A SQUAD, PLATOON, SECTION, COMPANY. AMIN DECLARED THAT PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT IS WELCOME HERE, BUT IT SHOULD BE ARRANGED IN PARTNERSHIP WITH GOU OR UGANDANS. HE INSISTED THAT COMPENSATION WOULD BE PAID FOR ALL FOREIGN PROPERTY TAKEN OVER. HE DISCLOSED THAT UGANDANS WHO HAVE BEEN ALLOCATED BUSINESSES WOULD SOON BE REQUIRED (AS SOON AS ASSESSMENTS OF VALUE ARE COMPLETED BY COMMITTEES OF FORMER CABINET MINISTERS) TO BEGIN MONTHLY INSTALLMENT PAYMENTS TO GOU AND THAT THIS MONEY WOULD BE USED TO PAY COMPENSATION. ALSO SAID HE IS ABOUT TO APPROVE COMPENSATION OFFER TO BE MADE TO TANGOV FOR 24 TANZANIANS ALLEGEDLY KILLED IN UGANDA DURING TROUBLES LAST YEAR.

6. GENERAL APPEALED TO DIPLOMATS TO TELL THEIR COUNTRIES TO HELP UGANDA IN ALL WAYS POSSIBLE. HE SAID SUCH HELP SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN BECAUSE OF OR DESPITE FACT GENERAL AMIN IS PRESIDENT, AND IT SHOULD BE CONTINUED WHETHER HE IN OFFICE OR NOT. HE WANTED THIS HELP FOR THE ORDINARY, POOR UGANDANS, SOME OF WHOM NEVER TASTE BEER, NEVER EAT SUGAR, HAVE NEVER USED MATCHES. GENERAL EVEN PRAISED WORK OF FOREIGN MISSIONARIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE BRINGING HEALTH SERVICES AND EDUCATION TO RURAL JOR IN VILLAGES OF UGANDA. HE CLOSED HIS SPEECH WITH A RENEWED DECLARATION OF LOVE FOR ALL COUNTRIES IN WORLD AND THEN SAID: "AS FROM TODAY, I AM NO LONGER AGAINST ANY COUNTRY, INCLUDING BRITAIN AND AMERICA." THERE WAS SPONTANEOUS AND LOUD APPLAUSE, MAINLY LED BY THE UGANDAN OFFICIALS PRESENT. AMIN THEN ADDED A P.S., DESCRIBING THE PROGRAM OF MOBUTU'S FORTHCOMING VISIT AND INVITING THE DIPLOMATS TO ATTEND ANY PART OF THE CEREMONIES THEY WOULD LIKE TO, ALTHOUGH MOST OF THE PROGRAM WILL TAKE PLACE A LONG WAY FROM KAMPALA, IN THE NORTHWEST AND WEST OF THE COUNTRY.

7. I HAD STOOD WITH CHARGE'S OF BRITAIN, BURUNDI, SUDAN, AND
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA WHILE LISTENING TO AMIN. WHEN GENERAL FINISHED HARRY BRIND SAID: "IT'S CERTAINLY NICE TO HEAR AGAIN THAT COMPENSATION WILL BE PAID." NIO CALO, COCA-COLA BOTTLER, HONARARY GREEK CONSUL, AND FOREIGNER STILL
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AID-20 IGA-02 SCS-03 SCA-01 CU-04 IO-13 RSR-01 /169 W

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O R 131050Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2859

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KAMPALA 2283

8. AMIN'S TONE WAS CERTAINLY A THOROUGHLY CHASTENED ONE. SOMETHING HAS HAPPENED TO TAKE THE STEAM OUT OF HIM. HE HAD EARLIER RECEIVED THE OUTGOING POLISH AMBASSADOR AND THE NEW (FIRST) EAST GERMAN AMBASSADOR, AND HE PERHAPS LEARNED THAT NOT MUCH HELP COULD BE EXPECTED FROM THOSE QUARTERS, AND PERHAPS (AT LEAST IN CASE OF POLE) THAT HELP HAS BEEN REDUCED.

9. NUMBER OF COLLEAGUES COMMENTED TO ME AFTERWARDS, IN SOME CASES IRONICALLY, THAT OUR TROUBLES ARE NOW OVER. TYPICAL WAS MUKAMBA OF ZAIRE: "NO MORE PROBLEMS. EVERYTHING SOLVED. RIGHT?" MY ANSWER: "YEAH, UNTIL UNEXT WEEK." OTHERS GAVE MORE SIGNIFICANCE TO AMIN'S REMARKS THAN BRIND OR I DID.

10. AMB. (TO US) RAMATHAN APPROACHED ME AND SAID; "YOUR SESSION WITH THE GENERAL WAS PRETTY ROUGH, FROM WHAT I READ." I SAID IT WASN'T AS BAD AS PRESENTED IN THE PRESS AND PROCEEDED TO GIVE HIM A DETAILED BRIEFING ON THE JULY 10 EXCHANGE WITH THE GENERAL, AS WELL AS THE PCV DETENTION INCIDENT. RAMATHAN WAS SOMEWHAT RELIEVED
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THAT RELATIONS ARE NOT AS BAD AS HE THOUGHT. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN TRAVELLING AND HAD NOT YET HAD A CHANCE TO CATCH UP ON THINGS WITH ETIANG OR AMIN. HE IS NOW COMPLETING A REPORT, ONE OF THREE, TO THE GENERAL ON THE UGANDA-WIDE TRAVELS OF THE RETURNED AMBASSADORS, FOLLOWING WHICH HE WILL GO ON LEAVE, AS, HE SAID, HIS "TOUR" IN WASHINGTON HAS BEEN "COMPLETED." (I DIDN'T PROBE FOR MORE, E.G. WHETHER HE THINKS HE'S RETURNING.)

11. AT SEVEN P.M., AFTER THE POLICE BAND HAD COMPLETED RETREAT AND MARCHED OFF, I WENT UP TO AMIN, SHOOK HANDS, AND SAID I APPRECIATED HIS WORDS ABOUT NOT BEING AGAINST AMERICA. SAID I HOPED THIS MEANT WE COULD TURN OVER A NEW LEAF OR START A NEW

PAGE IN OUR RELATIONS. HE WAS ALL SMILES AND NODS, BUT SAID NOTHING. I THEN THANKED HIM FOR INVITING THE DIPLOMATS AND SHARING HIS THOUGHTS WITH THEM AND SAID GOOD-NIGHT.

12. CHARLES LIBURD, HONORARY CONSUL OF GUYANA, WAS PRESENT, AND HAD A LONG CHAT WITH AMIN, PROBABLY ABOUT FORTHCOMING YMCA CONFERENCE, OF WHICH HE IS A KEY ORGANIZER LOCALLY. I AVOIDED DISCUSSING IT WITH HIM. (HE, BY THE WAY, HAS ABANDONED PLAN TO RECRUIT AMERICAN ENGINEERS TO COME HERE TO WORK IN HIS FIRM. HE DID NOT EVEN BOTHER TO GO TO US ON RECRUITING TRIP WHEN HE DISCOVERED SUCH PEOPLE COMMAND SALARIES OF \$27 TO \$30,000 PER ANNUM. HIGHEST SALARY HE PAYS AN EXPATRIATE HERE IS \$15,000 PLUS PERKS.)

13. COMMENT: I DOUBT THERE HAS BEEN ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN AMIN, AND I THEREFORE AM NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT OUR TROUBLES WITH HIM ARE ANYWHERE NEAR "OVER." I THINK SOMETHING OR SOME THINGS HAVE HAPPENED THAT HAVE CAUSED HIM TO CHANGE HIS TACTICS, BUT EXACTLY WHAT THERE IS NO WAY OF TELLING. IN MOST CASES IT HAS BEEN AMIN'S TACTICS (E.G. SENDING TELEGRAMS ALL OVER) THAT HAVE CAUSED ALL THE TROUBLE, SO A CHANGE OF TACTICS CAN BE SALUTARY. I DO NOT TRUST AMIN (OR HAVE ANY USE FOR HIM) ALTHOUGH HE NO DOUBT IS SINCERELY TRYING TO DO WHAT HE THINKS IS BEST FOR HIS COUNTRY. FOR SOME REASON HE APPEARS TO HAVE DECIDED THAT HE OUGHT TO TRY TO GET ALONG WITH ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING US AND UK. IT WOULD PROBABLY BE WISE FOR US TO ADJUST OUR OWN TACTICS ACCORDINGLY.

14. I WAS PREPARING TO RECOMMEND, WHEN REF (B) ARRIVED, THAT
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IN PROTESTING THE PCV DETENTION INCIDENT WE DO IT AT THE ETIANG LEVEL IN ORDER NOT TO PROVOKE AMIN PERSONALLY, AND THAT WE KEEP THE PROTEST HIGH-TONED AND SOMEWHAT "FORMALISTIC." BELIEVE REF (B) MEETS THESE REQUIREMENTS EXACTLY, AND AM THEREFORE MOST PLEASED WITH THESE INSTRUCTIONS.

15. AS FOR MATTER OF YMCA CONFERENCE, I HAVE CHANGED MY MIND SINCE YESTERDAY, AND I NOW BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOT DISCOURAGE THE AMERICAN DELEGATION FROM COMING HERE. IT WOULD CAUSE TROUBLE WITH AMIN, JUST AT MOMENT WHEN THINGS MAY BE IMPROVING, SO THE TIMING IS PERHAPS THE CRITICAL FACTOR IN DECIDING THIS QUESTION. THE PCV'S WERE INHUMANELY KEPT IN THE TRANSIT LOUNGE OVERNIGHT, BUT THEY WERE NOT OTHERWISE MISTREATED, HARASSED OR THREATENED. IN HIS TALK YESTERDAY AMIN SAID ALL FOREIGNERS WHO COME TO UGANDA FOR LEGITIMATE PURPOSES ARE WELCOME HERE, UGANDANS ARE HOSPITABLE PEOPLE, AND HE INTENDS TO KEEP IT THAT WAY. I DO NOT BELIEVE THE YMCA DELEGATION WOULD RUN ANY PARTICULAR RISKS SO FAR AS THEIR OWN SAFETY IS CONCERNED, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF AMIN'S APPARENT CHANGE OF MOOD AND ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICANS.

16. NAIROBI 4567 JUST RECEIVED. MY PERSONAL OPINION IS THAT AMERICAN DELEGATION SHOULD ATTEND COUNCIL IN KAMPALA, BUT BELIEVE DEPT SHOULD MAKE A DETERMINATION, TO BE COMMUNICATED TO DELEGATION AT ADDIS, SINCE ADVICE AGAINST COMING HERE ORIGINATED WITH DEPT AND MAY BE FOLLOWED IF NOT AMENDED BY DEPARTMENT.

17. AM NOT CLEAR RE PURPOSE OF MY MEETING WITH DELEGATION ON JULY 18. OF COURSE WOULD BE PLEASED TO MEET WITH THEM, BUT THERE IS NO MEANS OF HAVING A FRANK TALK WITH GROUP THAT SIZE IN ANY REASONABLY SECURE HALL. MY SUGGESTION WOULD BE THAT DELEGATION LEADERS REPEAT LEADERS MEET WITH ME IN MY OFFICE, AT THEIR CONVENIENCE.

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Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Authority: worrelsw
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
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